

HAILGAN

(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY



* Blaming The Victim: An Aspect
of Ethiopian Imperial Ideology

Review of A Somali Play:
"History Cannot Be Forgotten!"

* A Call For Arab Solidarity

* On Non-Alignment.

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAILGAIN

published monthly by the
CENTRAL COMMITTEE
of the **SOMALI REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY**

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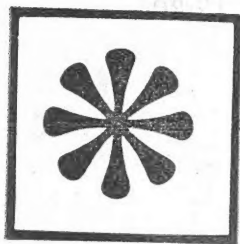
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EDITORIAL NOTES



MOMENTOUS DAYS

In the history of every nation there are certain dates that singularly stand out as milestones in the tempestuous struggle for freedom, true sovereignty, unity, and the attainment of all the sacred goals for which the vast majority of the nation aspire to. 26th June and July 1st 1960 are dates that will be indelibly marked in the minds of countless generations of our people to come, who will fondly remember them, and enthusiastically welcome their celebrations.

On 26 June 1960, Northern Somalia, a former British protectorate became the first, amongst the five dismembered Somali territories, to see the dawn of independence. On July 1st 1960, Southern Somalia, an Italian Trusteeship since 1950 followed suit to become the 2nd Somali territory to liberate itself from the yoke of colonialism. The twins on that same day decided to join and form the Somali Republic, thereby constituting the nucleus of the noble goal of Somali unity to be further fought for.

In nutshell those two dates symbolise the materialisation of the undaunted and heroic struggles waged by our people under the lofty banners of Ahmed Gurey, Sayid Mohamed Abdulla Hassan, and the SYL. The tree of independence was watered by the blood of countless and valiant heroes, who sacrificed the most worthy thing-life - towards their people's future happiness.

To crown our long independent struggle which the two dates stand for on 1st July 1976 the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, a Vanguard party of the new type was established in order to deepen and enrich the revolutionary socio-economic transformations taking place within a socialist framework.

The SRSP is the inheritor and continuator of all the splendid struggles embarked upon by the Somali people for freedom, a better humane life, unification and a consistent struggle against imperialism, colonialism, zionism and Apartheid.

In the span of two years the SRSP has done a tremendous job, that is by creating the Social organisations, such as the Federation of STU (1st May 1977); Somali Women's Democratic Organization (8th March 1977); Somali Revolutionary Youth Organisation (15th May 1977); The Organisation of Somali Cooperatives Movement (6th January 1978), and last but not least the Revolutionary October Young Flowers Organisations (18th June). These social organisations are built on the basis of meeting the vital necessity of mobilising the Somali Working Class, and all the other progressive stratas in our society. The

motto, the working class organised is everything, the working class dispersed is an ineffective force, has to be strictly adhered to if one has to facilitate passing power over to the working people. Besides the party created its branches in all the regions and districts, and at the sometime inaugurated the establishment of its basic units and cells. Today the Party and the social organisations are all in existence in the breath and length of the country, and are all discharging the gigantic tasks in accordance with their respective programmes.

All along, the party's main objective was to implement the main terms of its programme and constitution. An integral aspect of this is for the Party to frame up an over all plan for socio-economic advancement of the Somali society. To attain this, and to maximise the utilisation of both the natural and human resources, and over and above this to close the gaps resulting from former development plans, the Party and the Government machinery have spelt out a new development interim economic plan for 1979 - 1981. Correspondingly the former decided policy of attaining self-sufficiency in foodstuffs has been a new and vigorous momentum. The Ministry of agriculture, and other allied Ministries and agencies whose tasks directly impinge on the economic field have been encouraged to lay down the necessary conditions for the programme of self-sufficiency to be a realisable objective by the year 1980. There is no doubt that a critical evaluation of the plans so far laid down and a serious commitment to eliminate the drawbacks intrinsic in them will in the end make possible a more efficient management of our economy and the raising of our productive capacity. A less topheavy administrative system, one which is flexible, free of bureaucratic red tape and attuned to the spirit of the nation's welfare constitutes a fundamental and necessary organ through which our long term strategy could be accomplished. It is and ought to be a primary duty of the SRSP to create the vital administrative and managerial system to make its political decisions to be speedily carried out.

26th June and July 1st are the spirit beating in the hearts of the Somali people wherever they are. The present conflict in the horn and the foreign intervention on the side of Abyssinian colonialism is today subverting the age old cherished goals of the Somali people. The Somali people in the Somali West and Abo people are still fighting, to enjoy their right to self-determination, which is an inalienable right of all oppressed people. The old Abyssinian colonialism, a mis-spent political force, outliving its usefulness is trying to breathe into itself a new lease of life, by colluding with the Russo-Cuban strategic inter-

rests in the Horn of Africa. This unholy collusion is charged with the supreme task of denying the people of the Somali West, Abo and Eritrea their full right to independent existence? In addition it is meant to achieve the present Russian super-power ambitions of world hegemony and expansion.

The Somali Democratic Republic in line with the principles enshrined in its own Charters, and the genuine applications of the UNO, OAU, and Arab League edicts on peoples right to self-determination supports the people of the Somali West, Abo and Eritrea in their efforts to break away, and actively decide their own future. A lasting solution to the conflict in the Horn boils down to the undiluted acceptance of the principle of self-determination to the peoples languishing under Abyssinian colonialism.

With regard to our people the spirit of 26th June, and 1st July will continue to inspire us in our renewed efforts to create the basis for an all-roundedly better life for our people. Despite the multiple and weighty problems set against us by internal and external reaction, and inspite of the regressive nature of the many unavoidable tests of life, the courageous Somali people will remain cool and sober, and will wage an unremitting struggle against all their enemies—old and new, and will finally, no doubt be the victors.

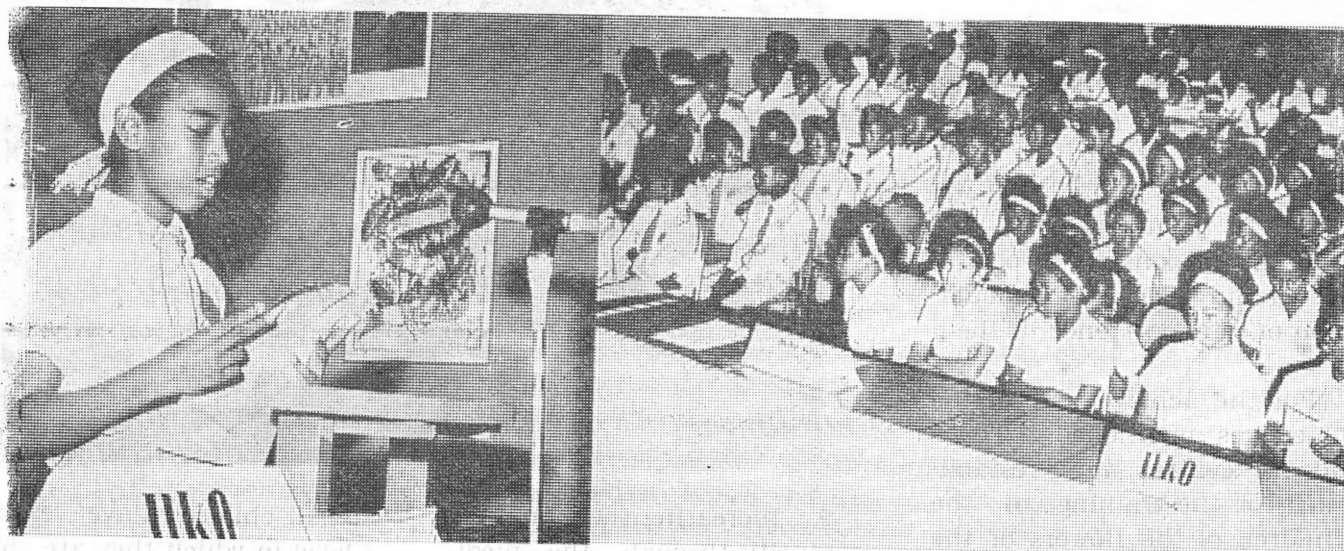
In the fight for the future, let us always look back to our glorious past, a past without which present day sovereign Somalia would not have been born.

Political, Economic and Social Affairs



FLOWERS OF OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Mahamed Dahir Afrāh



Whoever has been to the Headquarters of the flowers of the October Revolution «FOR», in Mogadishu, between the period of 15-17 June has undoubtedly left the centre with amazing bewilderment about the proceeding without their comprehension. In this above mentioned headquarter a trail gathering was in progress between different members of the aforesaid children organization.

In fact, this gathering was the first of its type to be ever held in Somalia. The nature of the gathering delegates who participated in its deliberations and prevailing atmosphere were all an admirable affairs of extraordinary character. However, we will refer to the point later, but to start with let us explain the objectives of the gathering, the delegation who attended its proceedings and the issues raised in it.

Historical Background:

18 June of this year, was the 7th Anniversary of the flower of October Revolution. Since then, 18th June has been observed throughout the SDR.

18th June 1971, was the first day in which the Somali children day was recognised. These children were given the name Flowers. This name was given to them by Secretary General of the SRSP, President of the SDR, Jaalle Siad. At the opening ceremony of the first camp for the training of the young generation of Somali youth. This was El-Jaalle Camp, which was meant for the utilisation of the Somali students during their school vacation.

The President on the inauguration of that camp called the children the flowers of the land. This was the initial starting point for the organization of the Sons and Daugh-

ters of the Mother land of elementary school level. They were called «The flowers of the October Revolution». The mobilisation and the education of the flowers of the October Revolution was tackled with the diligent responsibility of the Ministry of Education. Likewise, a lion share in this endeavour was undertaken by the political office of the presidency of SRC.

Among the major objectives for which the flowers of the revolution were established are:

a) To start at the opportune time, of the children for the building of a society based on sound and healthy personality.

b) To imbed in the minds of the children the love of their land, its sovereignty culture and development.

c) To raise them in a re-

volutionary spirit as well as culture and socialist personality.

d) In order to make an early detection for their hobbies and talents for the recognition of what is convenient for each cell for their encouragement and for their accountability.

e) In order to teach them good manners, socialization, self-respect and decent competition.

f) To train them for shouldering responsibility, social leadership and the inculcation of self-confidence in them.

For the achievement of the objectives mentioned above diverse centres were established for the training of the children of the flowers of the Revolution. The largest one being that of Kamaludin located in Mogadishu. This centre is also their Headquarter. In these centres children are taught several different activities based on their different hobbies. Among the activities performed are:

1. Different sporting activities.
2. Painting, arts and crafts etc.
3. Composition of plays and their performance.
4. Playing with musical instruments.
5. Learning folklore dances.
6. Acquiring skills of argumentations and debates.
7. Writing of newspaper articles, stories etc.
8. Learning technical crafts.



9. Increasing their political maturity through the medium of a language they understand.

A tangible achievements have been made in the realisation of the objective for which the flowers of the Revolution were established, and the implementation.

Of their Planned (Programme.) It was after the birth of SRSP and the foundation of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union «SRYU» that the flowers of the October Revolution have made a tremendous progress in being a well established organization coming hierarchically under the SRYU. Precisely it comes under the supervision of one of its department for which a special secretary for the children organization was named.

After their long continuous education and mobilisation as was mentioned earlier, «FOR» has reached a new stage of quality which means that the

Somali children have reached a level in which they are mature for any work expected from an established political organisation. The children of «FOR» in order to test this matter and to demonstrate to other have organized a seminar of high quality and experimental nature to show how they are ready to embark on bigger gatherings that would be organized by themselves alone.

This experimental gathering was held at the Headquarter of «FOR», in the period between 15 — 17 June. The gathering was attended by delegates from the 14th districts of the Benadir Region, Head Quarter of «FOR», students of elementary, intermediate schools, centres of the Revolutionary youth, and that of the orphans of the armed forces. The total number of the delegates was (343) Children. The Secretary General of the SRSP, President of the SDR Jaalle Siad, was guest of honour of the gathering where

he delivered a historical speech. Other high ranking officials were also guests of honour such as, Vice-President of the SDR Jaalle Major General Husien Kulmie Afrah, Members of the CC of the SRSP.

This Congress had the character of a Seminar. The matters discussed were divided into reports, and reciprocal debates of the various children organisations who attended the gathering. The deliberations of the said gathering were divided into three points:

1. The value of sovereignty.
2. Mobilisation and the rearing of children.
3. And the care of the young generation.

Grown up Children: The guests who participated in the gathering have been well impressed and became proud of the growing young generation. Jaalle Mahamed Ali, who was one of the guests attending the gathering has delivered a short speech at closing of its deliberations.

It was a new phenomena in the history of our nation moving one's sentiments when he sees a big conference that has been going for several days

which have been attended by hundreds of people among them the highest ranking leaders of the country. the conference was organized and finished to its conclusion by children the eldest ones are 15 years old. It was surprising how small children became mature for organizing arguments and debates, thinking that they are big politicians sitting in parliament. Likewise, it was astonishing that the responsibility and the prudence manifested by each child starting from the three children who were directing the conference chairmanship and the five of age (10) who were at the helm of the secretariat, up to the delegates who were sitting in the hall without the least noise. However, the only noise heard was slogans, and group songs in which pauses were made in supporting of each speaker whenever he/she refer to historical occasion.

The children of flowers of October Revolution, unlike their tender age, have participated on several occasions in many important conference held within the SDR and abroad.

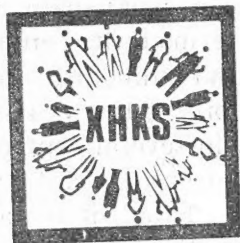
Starting from the conference of the heads of states of East and Central Africa, that was held in Mogadishu in 1971 up to this day there is no con-

ference that was held in which «FOR» did not participate especially in terms of its entertainment and admonishment. Further more, they have participated in several conferences attended by the children of the world. Thus, it is not surprising for them to organize conference and to participate in its debates. It would be an exaggeration and distortion if we make the pretension that Flowers of October Revolution has achieved its planned target, in terms of its establishment and the well rearing of its components. However, commendable results have been made, but with little achievements about the planned goals for which the organization was founded.

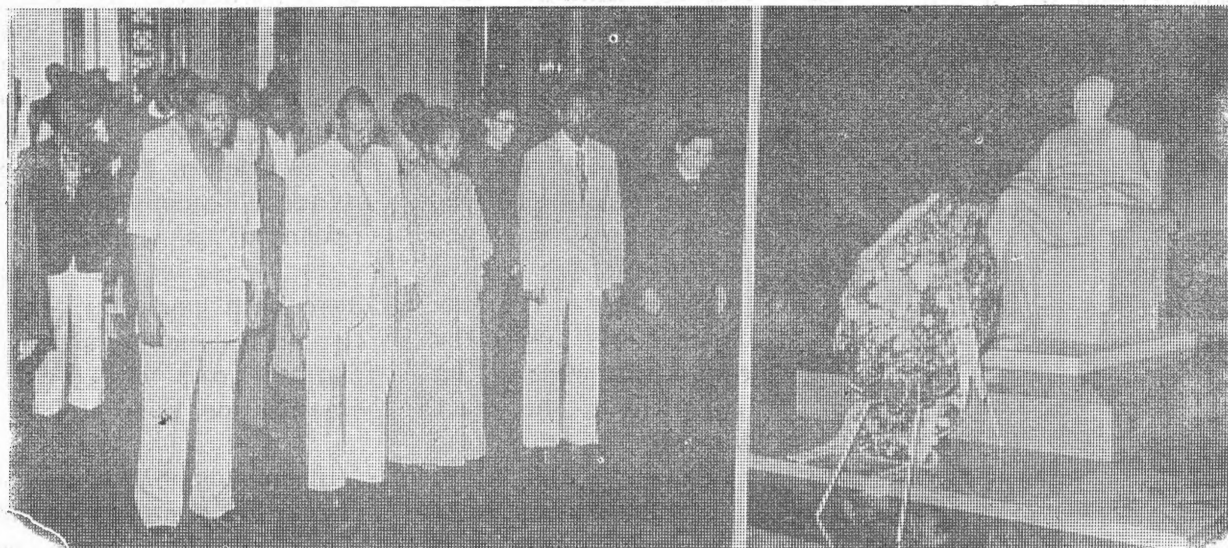
In conclusion the experiment of 15-17 June has become a successful one as well as being cognizant that «FOR» has reached a stage of self-management, similar to an established social organization. This conference of the children is a practical lesson in the sense that they have gained an immediate experience as it was planned.

We congratulate the Flowers of the October Revolution on the 7th Anniversary of its foundation wishing them immediate success and a promising future.

PARTY LIFE



Party delegation visits China



A Party delegation led by the Chairman of the Bureau for Social Affairs Jaalle Ahmed Maxamed Farah returned home on June 16th after a thirty six day friendly visit to China at the invitation of the Communist Party of the Peoples Republic of China.

On arrival at Peking, the delegation was accorded a warm reception by members of the Chinese Communist Party.

During their visit, the delegation toured seven Chinese Provinces visiting Industries, Cooperatives, Hydroelectric power stations, Universities, Party Schools, Museums and Historic places like the Great Wall of China which is among the Seven Wonders of the World. Chinese Party Official as well as the public gave a warm welcome to the Somali delegation briefing

them about the struggle of the Chinese people towards the development of their country. Furthermore, ideas were exchanged often by the Somali delegation and members of the Chinese Communist Party.

The Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Chinese Communist Party have a deep-rooted friendship based on historic ties of over a millennium which existed between the Somali and Chinese people.



Seminar Closed for Rural Community Leader

The second year elapsed since the foundation of the SRSP during which new experience and insights were gained. Such experiences facilitated for the re-organization and initiation of better approach of the tasks as to realise the most rewarding means and methods.

The responsibility of running the party obligations falls directly on the shoulders of the Party functionaries as well as those of the other social organisations to intensify the relation of the Party and the masses. This made inevitable for the

training of these functionaries in all tasks required for the running of the Party.

The functionaries of the Party and other social organisations had already acquired necessary political knowledge. Hence some of them are now chosen to learn vocational training in fields such as office procedure, statistics and type-writing.

Accordingly on 9th of June, 60 functionaries of the Party and other social organisations were admitted in SIDAM to acquire the afore-

mentioned knowledge. On the opening occasion of this month course, the Chairman of the Bureau for Central Committee Affairs, Jaalle Ibrahim Maygag Samatar delivered a speech. In his speech, Jaalle Maygag reflected the accomplished tasks of the SRSP during the two years following its foundation. He also pointed out the required obligation of the functionaries of the SRSP and other social organisations and how this vocational training will help them to carry out their responsibility successfully.

Women's Committees Undergo Training

Between the 5th and 19th June 1978, the Regional and District Committees of the Somali Democratic Women Organisation particularly those responsible for the education, child and mother care, administration and economy, had undergone a short training course at the domestic education centre in Mogadisho.

The main purpose of the training course was to offer an opportunity to the leading Committees of the women organisation to exchange their experiences with the aim of tackling the problems that confront their daily tasks and duties.

Moreover, there have been other lessons delivered to the participants on the current affairs in the area and the role they are

supposed to play.

Of special significance was the opening address delivered to the participant members by Brig. General Jaalle Ismaili Ali Abokor, the Assistant Secretary General of the SRSP and the Vice-President of the Somali Democratic Republic. In his address, Jaalle Ismaili reminded the delegates of the magnificent role played by the Somali women in the National Liberation struggle, their unforgettable part in the edification of the revolution and also their present engagement in the national reconstruction. He has pointed out that these remarkable contributions by the Somali women were what has led the revolutionary government to pass such decrees as the family laws that underline the emancipation

of the Somali women and their ascendance to an equal status with their male partners.

In addition to the executive members of the Somali Democratic Women's Organisation, there were other institutions that took part in this training seminar including the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health, and members of the—Benaadir Regional Party Branch. Needless to mention that the SDWO is one of the organisations fully dedicated to the social progress of the Somali people and hence with the other political and mass organisations and state organs in the country.

The training course was concluded on the 19th June 1978. Present at the closing ceremony were dignitaries

ries from the Central committee of the SRSP Party, including the President of the SDWO, Jaalle Fatuma Omar Hashi, the Minister of Education, Jaalle Adan Mohamed Ali, Minister of

Higher Education, Jaalle Ahmed Ashkir Botan, the Mayor of Mogadishu Jaalle Yusuf Ibrahim Ali, Benadir Reginal Party Secretary, Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah, and the commander of the

peoples militia, Jaalle Abdirahman Abdi Hussein.

The closing address was made by Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah, the Benadir Reginal Party Branch Secretary.

7th Anniversary of the Flowers of the October Revolution

On 18th January, 1978 at the centre of Mogadishu, the capital city of Somali Democratic Republic large number of children who are members of the Organisation of the Somali children named flowers of October Revolution met for 7 consecutive days, each on that particular date, children dressed in blue and white uniform as members of the flowers of the October Revolution ceremoniously participate in the rally.

The Children participated in the rally in the commemoration of that day, 18th June, which has special significance to them, and is marked as the founding date of the Flowers of the Revolutionary October. 18th June 1971 Secretary General of the S.R.S.P. President of the SDR Jaalle Siad coined the name «Flowers» of October for the Somali Children, to symbolise the vitality of the future generations. The next step was to establish the organisation of children named Flowers of the October Revolution, while following the directions of Jaalle Siad.

In the rally on 18th June large numbers of children (F.R.O.) met at the centre of Mogadishu. They marched along the main avenues of the city, and laid flowers at the monuments of Sayd Mohamed Abdulle Hasan, Dhagahtur, Hawa Ta-



ko and at the Unknown Soldier's monument in commemoration of the struggle of the Somali people for independence and the valiant nationalist struggle for which they shed their sacred blood.

It is an important national issue when children who growing up visit and present flowers at their grandfathers monuments who sacrificed their lives to defend their nation. It is a symbol which the Somali children can be proud about and a heritage they have to further deepen in their memories.

A ceremony which took place at the national theatre during the night of 18th June, was another programme prepared by the Flowers of October Revolution anniversary. On that occasion.

Special emphasis was given to the Trade Union Education since the Somali Working Class and its General Federation of trade

unions earnestly believe that Scientific Socialism is the only path that can ensure better living standard and the satisfaction of the need of the Working masses. Hence the importance attached to the study of the Socialist Ideology. This has to be carried out alongside the vocational training of the Workers

This short Seminar proved to be useful and fruitful. Attending the session were Party and Government officials Social Organisations and representatives of progressive people. The programme took a long time to display but all the same to display but all the same it was appreciable and splendid. Most specifically appreciated was the high level of activity and heightened consciousness shown by those small children which reflect that the future of our great country is safe in their hands.

The 3rd meeting of the GFSTU

At the Somali workers centre in Mogadishu, was held the 3rd meeting of the Central Committee of the General Federation of the Somali Trade Union between 10 - 12th June 1978. Such meetings are held twice annually.

The meeting's Agenda items were as follows:

1. Reports by the delegates on the activities of the regional and district branches since the 2nd Central Committee meeting.

2. Internal regulations for the day-to-day functions and duties of the Federation, which had been approved by the meeting.

3. The establishment of more trade union branches throughout the regions and the districts to embrace the whole country. It has been found from experience that this is a necessary measure for the improvement of the Federations work and the fulfillment of its tasks on a national level. The meeting has approved the establishment of a union for the local government employees and the hotel union workers.

4. The creation of two separate departments: one for the administration and the other for the ideology, after it was found out that the handling of these tasks by one single department was very burdensome.

The items in the Agenda were dealt with by the participants in accordance with the principles of Dem-



ocratic centralism and criticism and self-criticism.

Every member has democratically spoken his mind on these issues and clearly expressed his opinion as principles of scientific socialism entail.

The discussions in the meeting were carried out in a lively and comardely spirit. Reports and discussions were interspersed by revolutionary songs and slogans that reflected the indomitable ill and spirit of the Somali working people and their honest dedication to realise the aspira-

tions of the nation and build a socialist society.

At the close of the meeting, the participants passed the following resolutions that can be classified into two categories:-

- 1) The first set of resolutions pertain to the present historical stage of the nation and the duties incumbent on the Somali working class.

- 2) The second group deals with the improvement of both labour and the conditions of the toiling Somali masses.

These resolutions can be easily read elsewhere in this magazine under the heading «Books and Publications».

After the Conclusion of its works of the 3rd meeting, a 4- days Seminar was arranged for the Chairmen of the regional an district Trade Union branches, held at the Workers Cultural Centre.

The main themes of the Seminar focussed upon the activities of the General Federation of the Somali Trade Union in the past year.



Vocational Training for SRSP and other Social Union's Functionaries

The Assistant Secretary General of the SRSP and Vice-President of the SDR, Brig. General Ismail Ali Abokor closed a seminar for 447 rural community leaders at El-Jaalle of Marka district on 18th June 1978. These leaders of the rural communities were mainly the elders or religious figures from all the regions, districts and villages of the Somali Democratic Republic.

During this course of the 50 days Seminar, the community leaders acquired knowledge related to the rural development especially administration, sanitary conditions, health promotion for rural people and their livestock and the development of the agricultural production.

One of these situational lectures was presented by the Secretary General of the SRSP, Jaalle Siad, on 9th June 1978. In his lecture the President high-lighted on the need for co-operation and unity as the prerequisite for the overall progress

of the society. Jaalle Siad also urged the community leaders to safeguard the fruits of the Revolution and protect them against all reactionary elements. In conclusion the President advised them to practically apply the knowledge they acquire in their role of leading the community so that the national aspirations might be realised.

In general during this seminar the required objectives were achieved according to its plan and on the closing day, Vice-President Jaalle Brig.-General Ismail Ali Abokor spoke on the occasion.

In his speech, Jaalle Ismail dealt at length on the country's present situation and the role of the community leaders in advancing the nation while helping the society to overcome the difficult conditions prevalent at the moment.

After completing their studies in the seminar, the

community leaders returned back to their rural areas to resume their obligation in more enlightened method. This will add more to the realisation of the 21st October Revolution's aims in developing the Somali society whose majority reside in the rural areas.

This is why the Revolution considers the advancement of the rural people as a top priority and accordingly staged the rural development campaign which was made permanent at the latter phases and the expansion of the government administration to the rural areas.

Similarly this concluded seminar for the community leaders was mainly to open a dialogue between the rural elders and the government leaders for strengthening the relation between the Revolution and the rural people. Also some of its other aims were to teach the community leaders the required administrative techniques and the methods of mobilising the masses.

HALGAN

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WORLD AFFAIRS



A CALL FOR ARAB SOLIDARITY

— By Ali Mohamed Ahmed

In a meeting of Arab Foreign Ministers held in March this year a decision was conclusively taken to set up a Commission charged with the task of re-establishing Arab Cooperation which hit rock bottom after President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem.

Sadat's official visit to Jerusalem in Nov. 1977 was undertaken to show to the World public opinion the unstinted Arab efforts and their good intentions in the search for a Lasting peace in the Middle East. Besides, Sadat, through this visit of his intended to destroy the psychological barriers separating the Israelis & Arabs as a result of the successive Middle Eastern wars.

As for the rejectionist Arab front their arguments turned on the assumption that Israeli expansionism and stubbornness towards the Middle East conflict will not be transformed by a good will visit by an Arab Statesman. In fact this visit can, and did lead to unnecessary divisions and rancour between the Arab States directly confronting Israel, since it gave Israel the option of entering into unilateral agreements with each Arab State. In the end the Palestinian peoples's right to their own independent State could be jeopardised.

The creation of Israel and the continuous support extended to it by Imperialist powers

is not accidental. The rationale of Israeli existence is founded on the long term imperialist strategy to subvert Arab progressive and national liberation revolutions in the area.

To the extent that Israel is nourished by external strong forces, and is objectively meant to act as a sharp knife pioneering at the heart of the Arab World, most probably it will treat peaceful Arab efforts with disdain and contempt.

Proceeding further in our analysis, the Middle East conflict to be seriously defused necessitates a just solution to be found for the Palestinian issue since the usurpation of Palestinian rights and their eviction from their land is at the root of the whole conflict. Failing to find an equitable solution will make a lasting peace a non-materialisable goal. Accordingly it only stands to reason to extend an invitation to the sole and legal Palestinian representative to fully take part in the official talks between the parties to the Middle Eastern Conflict: The Israel and Arabs.

In the furtherance of the Arab cause it is imperative that a strong United alliance ought to be forged in order to strengthen the Arab hand in the eventuality of any negotiations with Israel. International imperialism and Israel are fully cognisant with the effectiveness and the great

weight which a united Arab front will pose if successively consolidated. Thereby they have left no stone unturned to frustrate such unity emerging. In line with this the imperialist plan with regard to the Middle East hinges upon partial solutions to be accomplished unilaterally with each Arab confrontation State.

Preceding accumulated Arab experiences all go to vividly prove the inexhaustible benefits stemming from unity, which perforce ensures victory, whereas disarray and disunity on their part inevitably leads to defeat and despondence. We still remember the magnificent contributions of the Arab people to Egypt's valiant struggle against the tripartite aggression in 1956.

It is noteworthy to cast back our memory to the Khartoum Conference in 1967, and the strong Cooperation it fostered amongst Arab ranks who then were striving to consolidate the progressive bloc in the Arab world, which imperialism consciously wanted to supplant and overthrow. Doubtlessly this strong Arab progressive bloc splendidly contributed to the great victory against Israel scored in October 1973. Another example attesting to the fruits of unity is represented by the liberation of Algeria, which to a large extent was due to the close collaboration between Arab countries siding with the Algerian people's just

demand for total national liberation.

Drawing on all those positive experiences it is becoming incontrovertibly apparent to the Arab peoples that solely through unity could the liberation of Palestine and other Arab territories occupied after 1967 be accomplished. Over and above this Arabs will equally meet the demands of economic development, and the uplift of social life. The full realisation of this glaring truth impressed itself in the recent Cairo Conference where the aforementioned Commission was set up. In the same Conference President Jafar Nu-

meri was elected a Chairman of this Commission, which consists of nine Arab Countries. The main objective of this is to reinstate the fraternal Arab relations, to consolidate their ability to head off the enemy which is trying to dismember and weaken them. In the nutshell the Commission is trying to revive the highly beneficial Arab teamwork obtaining in 1973 and before.

There is not doubt that through unity and brotherly cooperation the Arab countries will be able to overcome the onerous tasks confronting them in the liberation of Palestine, other occupied lands

and the carrying out of the other much cherished goals which remain unattended to. The great values inherent in this unity makes it incumbent upon us to applaud every step taken towards the rejuvenation of Arab unity and cooperation. The fact that no one Arab country could successfully combat the strong world imperialist system feeding Israel aggression obviously hastens the timely call for unbreakable Arab coalition built on the sound foundations of co-ordinating the process of the bright historical future awaiting the Arab people.



ON NON — ALIGNMENT

The forthcoming meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned countries in Belgrade (July, 1978), gives us the occasion to reflect briefly on certain theoretical and historical aspects of the Non-aligned Movement.

Twenty three years ago, a conference of 29 sovereign states of Asia and Africa -- for the first time in history -- was held in Bandung from April 18 to 24, 1955. The Conference was convened following the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism when new independent countries appeared in Asia and Africa, and the national liberation movement acquired thus a new decisive motive force.

The Bandung conference sowed the seeds for the movement that emerged during the fifties around the concept of non — alignment. An overevi-

ew of non-aligned activities during the past two decades shows that the movement implies:-

a) The need to defend and consolidate political independence;

b) The need to support national liberation struggle thus liberating all remaining areas under colonialism and alien domination.

c) The need to struggle for a new international economic order in order to insure not only political but economic independence as well.

d) The need to struggle for international peace and security, development and peaceful co-existence irrespective of different social systems.

The policy of non-alignment appeared as an international

Hussein M. Adan

political factor during the cold war. It is basically the expression of resistance on the part of many countries to the division of the world into blocs, an opposition to bloc hegemony and also to the danger of a new war into which the world was being impelled by bloc divisions. Consequently, one of the main criteria to attend the first Summit of Non-aligned Countries (Belgrade, 1961) was defined as follows:-

«The country should not be a member of a multi-lateral military alliance concluded in the context of Great power conflicts».

Two other important criteria included:-

1) The country should have adopted an independent policy based on the co-existence of states with different political and social systems and

on non-alignment or should be following a trend in favour of such a policy.

2) The country concerned should be consistently supporting the movements for national independence.

Non-alignment adopts the theoretical principle — borne out daily by practice — that separating the world into military blocs does not lead to peace and the affirmation of peaceful co-existence among peoples but to the aggravation of international relations and war. Regardless of the political intentions and objectives of such blocs, they inevitably lead to the restricting and in some cases to abolishing the independence of peoples. The current turmoil in Africa — the Horn of Africa in particular offers a glaring example to this thesis, namely super-power rivalries exarcebate and aggravate tensions and local the independence of African conflicts to the detriment of peoples. In this instance, it is one superpower, that is heavily implicated in creating turmoil.

The principle that lasting peace and progress are possible only on the grounds of transcending the bloc divisions of the world and developing cooperation and rapprochement among nations has inspired a series of non-aligned gatherings such as:

- a) The first Summit Conference of the Non-aligned countries (Belgrade, 1961).
- b) The 2nd Summit Conference of the non-aligned countries (Cairo, 1964).
- c) The 3rd Summit Conference

of the Non-aligned countries (Lusaka, 1970).

d) The fourth Summit Conference of the Non-aligned countries (Algiers 1973).

f) The fifth Summit Conference of the Non-aligned countries (Colombo, 1976).

An essential principle in non-aligned policy is the need to consolidate peace, for peace is a basic need of the contemporary world and its progressive development. But this should never be taken to imply that non-aligned policy accepts peace at any price. On the contrary it is resolutely opposed to the kind of «peace» that imperialistic, hegemonistic and aggressive reactionary forces want to impose on freedom loving peoples. Non-aligned policy urges active support for every just liberation struggle which must be waged with arms in consequence of existing conditions. The Second Summit in Cairo made the following important pronouncement. «Lasting world peace cannot be realised so long as unjust conditions prevail and peoples under foreign domination continue to be deprived of their fundamental right to freedom, independence and self-determination».

The Cairo summit noted that the right of self-determination is still violated and its exercise denied in many regions of the world and results in a continued increase of tension and extension of the areas of war.

The Cairo conference, and others before and after, denounced the attitude of those powers and forces which oppose the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination. It adopted strongly worded resolutions in favour

of the implementation of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence and against the use of force against the exercise of this right.

Recent events in Africa in general and the horn of Africa in particular, bear testimony to this wisdom of non-aligned policy.

Non-aligned countries are occupied not only with issues of decolonisation, but also with the crucial issues of development. The overwhelming majority of non-aligned countries are also economically underdeveloped countries. Accordingly, they are faced with the need to step up efforts for establishing such forms of international economic cooperation and assistance as to make for more equitable relations and the acceleration of the economic advancement of underdeveloped countries.

As the main battle for national liberation shifted from political to economic sphere — or in other words, when the Third world nations began their second battle for (economic) independence, this gave another big push of unity and solidarity among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Even those, who for various reasons could not get rid of imperialist domination in new forms, realized that the entire third world must stand together for the elimination of incredible poverty and hunger of its peoples. Thus the «Group of 77» was formed during the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) for the first time in Geneva in the year 1964. The «Group of 77» which by now embraces over 110 countries, has

been quite active in the formulation of demands on behalf of all the developing countries through UNCTAD 11, (Delhi, 1968), UNCTAD 111 (Santiago de Chile, 1972), UNCTAD IV (Nairobi, 1976) as well as in the VI and VII Special UN Sessions on Development. It was after the Algiers Summit of Non-Aligned countries (1973) with its Economic Declaration and Programme of Action that a whole series of international dialogues generated. Consequently, the VI Special UN Session on Development was held in 1974 and the VII Session in 1975.

The UN General Assembly there upon, adopted a Declaration on a new International Economic order and a Programme of Action. Furthermore, a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States was also adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. Another international dialogue prompted by such efforts is popularly referred to as the North-South Dialogue resulting from the Paris Conference on International Economic Cooperation in December 1975 with the participation of Western industrialised nations and developing countries.

Following recent non-aligned countries conferences, certain institutional arrangements have begun to emerge such as.

a) Formations of associations of producers of raw materials (like OPEC) which could confront imperialism and neo-colonialism successfully and the establishment of the Council of Associations of Developing countries Producers Exporters of Raw Materials;

b) Establishment of the solidarity fund for economic and social development in the non-aligned countries.

c) Establishment of the special fund for the financing of raw materials and primary products exported by the developing countries

d) Guidelines for the treatment of foreign private investment, transnational corporations and the transfer of technology.

These are significant steps on the long road ahead to bridge the gap between the developing and the developed world. The non-aligned movement is creatively developing and coping with newer and ever changing situations. Steps have been taken, for example towards pooling together news Agencies of the non-aligned countries to thwart the biased news barrage against the aspirations of developing countries emanating from imperial news media. Certain countries have also begun to initiate steps aimed at insuring the involvement and mobilisation of popular mass organisations in the movement for non-alignment.

The non-aligned movement is therefore not just a temporary by-product of the cold war between certain military-political blocs. The non-aligned movement is destined to play a positive role in injecting a healthy dose of democratic relations of equality among socialist countries themselves. The consequences of colonialism's disintegration are in growing degree obstructing narrowing down and curtailing possibilities for manifestation of the most basic tendencies of imperialism, and thereby causing crises that accelerate the internal disintegration of imperialism while strengthening the forces of socialism. Under such circum-

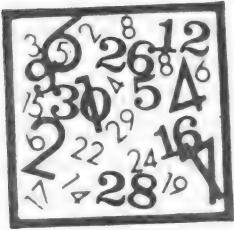
stances, the non-aligned movement can no longer be defined exclusively in terms of the contradiction between socialists. Under such circumstance the non-aligned movement can no longer be defined exclusively in terms of the contradiction between the socialist block.

Contradictions are already arising on the grounds of socialist development in the transitional period. One of these involves the necessity for social ownership of the means of production to take the form, for a time, of state ownership which generates tendencies to preserve wage-labour relations between the state and the employed. There is also the necessity for socialist forces to rely for some time on the strength of the state generating bureaucracy and statist deformation of socialist economic relations. Relations among socialist countries have to rest on inter-state basis thereby permitting tendencies toward hegemony, and so forth. In its initial stages, it has been necessary for socialism in the world to develop on the grounds of great differences in level of economic development permitting aspirations to the preservations of economic differences and struggles aimed at settling such economic disparities among socialist states. There is also the ideological reflection of such contradictions, manifested in the dogmatizing of Marxism and the creation of an ideological monopoly in the interests of preserving the need to control the world revolutionary process for the benefit of certain vested interests.

The Socialist option implies a historical necessity. More and more countries and par-

(Continued on Page 22)

MONTHLY BULLETIN



Siad Tours Western Europe and Gulf States



The President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre and the delegation led by him returned home on 28th of June after the wounding up of 11 day visit to Western Europe and some Arab States. The President and his delegation left Mogadishu on 18th June on a visit to OMAN, QADAR, SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT, UAE, EGYPT, BRITAIN, and the FEDERAL REBUPLIC OF GERMANY.

Speaking to Newsmen at the Presidency headquarters upon arrival back home Jaalle Siad stated that the discussions he and his delegation had with respective leaders of those countries were crowned with success and mutual understanding.

The President disclosed that major topics discussed in their respective meetings included means of finding

solutions to current global problems and how to tackle them. In addition the relation and co-operation between Somalia and these countries, the Afro-Arab cooperation and other international issues, particularly the conflict in the Horn of Africa.

In answering a question on the views held by the leaders of countries he visited regarding the naked and pravocative aggression

of Abyssinia against the SDR, Jaalle Siad disclosed that the repeated aggressions as not being perpetrated by the Abyssinians is instigated by certain big powers with particular interest in the area.

The President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, declared that the objective behind the allied troops aggressive attacks is aimed at dis-tearting the Somali Nation. However, the fact remains that the Somali people will never be dishearted by the enemy designs to incur horn upon them. Infact these acts of aggression favourably adds to their bravery and unity in defending their sovereignty and dignity, he said. Speaking on the support, the SDR extends to the liberation movements Jaalle Siad stated that this is a legitimate and obligatory support of the Somali Nation that will never be abandoned.



PRESS CONFERENCE

A former member of an Anti-Somali Revolution Organisation calling itself «Somali Democratic Action Front» (SODAF) held a press-conference in Mogadishu to denounce the sinister activities of the group on 13th of June.

«The so-called «SODAF» was a group of just over 10 who had no other supporters, he said, adding that therefore it is not worth to call them a front or even a group»

«the exact number of people in the so-called «SODAF» was 13 only and that cannot be called an organization or anything like that. And each of these had his own selfish interest; some were disgruntled because they lost their job, others were pushed by tribal feeling and the rest were after some personal material gain and so forth. Thus none of them had any concrete purpose of principle», he said. He added, that their only purpose was to under mine the Somali Nation, while concerting their action with, and serving the interests of the enemy of the Somali people.

Asked from whom they drew support Abdulrahman said, «the group receives assistance from Abyssinia, Kenya Israel and others who are inimical to the Somali cause.»

«I do not think it is necessary to explain to the Somali people why the Abyssinian and Kenyan government were supporting these 13 men. The Abyssinians

were not only fighting to wipe those who are fighting for their Independence, but have even threatened the sovereignty of the Somali Democratic Republic with destruction», he said. He also noted that the Israel also support the Abyssinian and Kenyan Governments in their anti-Somali Schemes.

«We are all aware that Israel is the arch enemy of the Arab nation and Muslim peoples in general. They do not want to see the existence of a strong, stable Arab or Islamic state in the world» He said, «Somalia is a member of the Arab Nation and struggles hard for the right of the Palestinians and peoples who are under the rule of a parthied and racist regimes. Israel he said, does not want a government with such a policy to exist and hence extends assistance to those rising against us»

He went on to say that both Israel and Abyssinia are bound together by a common interest to control the Red Sea through which Arab Oil flows to Europe and are bent to undermine and topple Arab governments.

Asked whether the group

were involved in the recent attempted coup in Somalia, he dismissed any connection between the so-called «SODAF» and the coup plotters because, he said the group had no local supporters.

This has been evidenced by the fact that when the creation of SODAF was heard the Somalis denounced it with disgust.

«They did not get any support from Somalis whether at home or abroad» he declared.

Asked why he joined the group, Abdulrahman Salah said that it was because of his dissatisfaction with his discharge from the government service and said that he later quit its membership after it became clear, to him of the selfish nature of «SODAF»

Asked where the group is based, he said that «SODAF» is based in Kenya and Ethiopia and that he was convinced that it was working for the interest of the enemies of the Somali people.

«I then decided to come back to my country, join the honest Somali people and shed the past feeling. This is not time for personal grudges, and if any it is better, better to clean one's heart and join the national struggle», he stressed.

A British Delegation Visits Somalia

The British delegation led by Mr. Ted Rowlands, a Minister of State in the British Foreign office concluded a four days visit to Somalia and left for home via Sudan on the 4th of June.

The president of the SDK Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre received at the Presidency, the British delegation on the 3rd day of their visit. The President and Mr. Rowlands discussed bilateral relations, current World

affairs in general and Africa in particular. The British Minister thanked the SDR president for the warm welcome accorded to him and his delegation.

Earlier Mr. Ted Rowlands and his delegation, paid visits to the Juba Sugar Project at Jilib and the capital of Lower Juba, where the British delegation had talks with the British technicians working on the project. Mr. Rowlands urged them to accelerate the completion of the project, which he pointed out is beneficial to Somalia's economy.

The delegation also visited Kismayo Meat Factory, the Hides and Skins Tannery.

Mr. Rowlands and his delegation during their stay in Somalia had talks with Somali officials on economic co-operation between



Somalia and Britain including Vice-president Hussein Kulmie, who received them in his office.

The delegation also signed an economic agreement on 4th of June with the officials of the National Planning Commission. Among the clauses of the Agreement was a sum of So. Sh. 23.433.600 which the British Government will

grant the SDR to purchase various equipment including fishing boats and the construction of houses for the British experts at the Jilib Sugar Project.

The Chairman of the National planning commission Jaalle Ahmed Habib Ahmed signed the agreement on the Somali side and Mr. Ted Rowlands signed it on the British side.

Siad Cables OAU Chairman

The President of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre sent on the 28th of June a Cable to the President of the Republic of Gabon, the current Chairman of the OAU informing him of the current events in the Horn of Africa.

In his Cable the President said: «I have the honour to inform your Excellency that Ethiopian airforce planes attacked and bombed civilian targets and populated areas inside the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic killing thirteen persons including women and children and

wounding fifty two others, and causing extensive damage to property. These savage aerial assaults were launched by a total of 11 war planes against the towns of Borama, Gabiley, Qulejad, Goraya-Awl, Kala-Beyd, Belli-Anod and Abdulkadir, all in the North-Western Region on three separate occasions namely June 22nd and twice on June 25th. Apart from these barbaric acts of naked aggression combined Ethiopian and Cuban forces are being amassed in various points close to the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic obviously

sly for aggressive purposes.

These naked acts of aggression and hostility constitute a flagrant violation of UNITED NATIONS and OAU charter principles and seriously threaten peace and security not only in the SDR but also Regionally and Internationally. The Government of the SDR has so far exercised maximum restraint in the face of these aggressive acts on the part of Ethiopia but will be forced to fully exercise its right to legitimate self-defence in the event of further incursions and threats to its security.

SOWETO Symbol of Resistance

June 16th 1976 occupies a significant chapter in the historic struggle of the African people in South Africa.

In that day the indigenous African people in the township of-Soweto demonstrated in support of the African students, who protested against the introduction the Afrikaans as the language of the country's medium of education. The uprising against the racial policy in education reflects the just struggle of the African people for majority rule, against the policy of apartheid and the rule of monopoly capitalism. The policy of the racist state opened fire at a peaceful student demonstration, killing more than 600 innocent demonstrators who became the victims of the brutal oppression during that event in June 1976.

This incident triggered off a chain of demonstrations, strikes and out bursts in the

citadel of racism and apartheid. Soweto turned into a symbol of the unyielding will of the Africans in South Africa, of their desire to live a better life worthy of their heroism against the worst of oppressive systems.

This anniversary coincides with International Anti-apartheid year, when the world massively participates in preparation for the world conference of U.N. to combat racism and racial discrimination.

The Sharpeville massacre in 1960, and the bloody event in Guguletu and other similar events still echo distinctly in the minds of African people and in the world as whole.

All these events expressed in true color the real face of the racist regime in South Africa and its brutality against innocent people.

To mark the Soweto upheaval, peoples from different stratas: Students, Workers

and peasants in Soweto gathered in a mass rally to observe the heedy events in Soweto and at the same time to emphasise the indomitable spirit of resistance of the people to the system of Apartheid and racial discrimination.

Also, on the 2nd anniversary of Soweto uprisal, the police arrested more than 600 people at road blacks in the Transval, and placed the black ghetto of Soweto under near Siege. Armed police set up road blocks in and around the sprawling township of over one million blacks as part of what they called a crime prevention Campaign.

The memory of Soweto will always live, in the minds of all those who refuse to be reconciled with the abominations of racism and apartheid, and it marks a new World action for the rapid and total elimination of the policy of apartheid and racial prejudice.

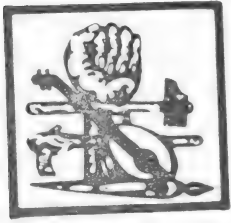
NOTICE

We remind the readers that Halgan, the official organ of the CC of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, comes out in three languages: monthly Somali and English issues and a trimontly Arabic issue.

Copies are available in:

- Samatar Bookshop
- Shabelle
- African Booksellers
- Hotel Uruba
- Hussein Farmashie Shop
- Books and Journal stand opposite «Caffe Nazionale».

CULTURAL AND ARTS



Play Review :

History Cannot be Forgotten

Bobe

Casting back our memory the youthfulness of our Theatre impresses itself upon our minds. This is the case in as much as our theatre seriously started operation in the forties of this century in the cities of Mogadshu and Hargeisa. Immature as our theatre is, nonetheless it has not gone through the necessary radical evolution it could have achieved within that short span of time. The non-occurrence of badly needed transformation is explicable on a number of factors, amongst which the lack of academic education by the professionally involved personnel in our theatre features prominently. Personalities taking active interest in our theatre have worked hard and drew their inspiration from practices set by their predecessors. Having a close look at our theatre it becomes clearly manifest how no major efforts were expended to transform the formerly existing theatrical forms. . .

In this article it is our objective to analyse a play, first in its kind, which saw its debut on July 1st, 1978 on the commemoration of the three monumental and valuable victories scored by the Somali Nation that day. The staging of this play and its seeing the light of day is due to the cooperative endeavours between the ideology bureau of the SRSP and the Waberi Artistes. Inspiring the contents of the play, and

thus defining its essence, is the bitter and long struggle waged by the Somali people in the accomplishment of independence, which under the present conditions expresses itself in the ongoing liberation war in the colonised Somali inhabited areas in order to augment Somali unity.

This play for the first time introduces a new element into our theatrical form. For the most part, the actors are silent and the meaning of the play is fully conveyed by the drum beats and the elegant and expressive movement of the actors. In large part the play was acted out by the folklore dancers of Waberi Artistes who admittedly spared no efforts to make their new form of acting a swelling success. In the process, the artistes while making use of the traditional dance, none the less it gave new dimensions and meaning.

The play was divided up as follows:

1. Struggle: The play at its start shows us a peacefully settled community thoroughly enjoying life in the midst of plenty. To show their joy of life they are happily dancing and sending their voices to be reverberated in the vast expanse surrounding them. Suddenly the dance stops. Abdikadir, the leading male actor enters and with all his heart, and facial features portending trouble sy-

mbolises the advent of the colonialist enemy. Consciousness is born, peace is gone, and the good home is no longer the happy home, and heroic Abdalkadir cries when he sees the land divided into five. Dancers equipped with spears succeed to cut two ropes and Abdalla Rage, who was previously securely tied is freed and he rises to his full height to convey that the year 1960 has come.

2. EVERY ONE FOR HIMSELF.

It is the era when every one sought to further his own interest, and the national goals were casted overboard. Sheikh Abokor, who is decidedly worried about our lonesome flag goes to accost everyone around him. Almost everyone turns a deaf ear to him. Only Fynus and Osman are convinced by him. «I understand ... fully understand» young Osman states. «It has been understood and fully understood» Faynus replied. The encouragement brings Abdilkadir and Omar harking, and the four simultaneously raise the flag aloft. This is the birth of the lovable 21st October Revolution.

3. A REVOLUTIONARY ERA:

This is underscored by the range of campaigns embarked upon, and the continuing divisions amongst our people, bred in by the pre-years of the re-

volution, between those committed to revolutionary transry and those who through every step left no stone unturned to make our journey to better life a very painful, slow and uphill one. Though the acting was perfect silence, the imagery was so powerful and convencing thereby attained success in its explanotary mission. People were all busy in farming, self-help schemes, involved in the literacy campiagn, and other numerous tasks. However, two men are running helter and skelter amidst the toiling masses, till they reach the stage of utter exhaustion.

But their is not toil, it is the opposite— digging deep pits to bury the revolution. But one is finally caught up with and justiciably dealt with. The birth of the SRSP is here and now.

FREEDOM FIGHTERS: It is the part devoted to the liberation of the Somali Coast and Abyssinian colonised Somali West. A Zailian dance, «Haybara» opens the part thus symbolically announcing Jibuti independence. Three short portrayals are seen to intimately spell out the callous Abyssinian oppressive treatment of the Somali people, and their

courageous resistance to this degradation.

The major part of the play is entitled: Never assume that I will accept enslavement.» These words re-echo some well known poetic lines of Sayid Mohamed Abadalla Hassan. This is the war of national liberation in which the unholly alliance took an ignoble part. Here the acting shows the encirclement of the enemy troops.

Over and above this there were 5 songs in the play, and the concluding one brone the title of the play:

«HISTORY CANNOT BE FORGOTTEN».

ON NON – ALIGNMENT

(Continued from Page 16)

ties all over the world are naturally moving towards socialism. Now to introduce the policy of adventurism, the policy of imposing socialism from a particular world center, would mean to halt such processes and lend new strength to imperialism and all reactionary social forces which would, under such conditions, appear as the leading forces defending national independence. The recent events in Africa bear witness to this process of aggravating tensions under the slogan of promoting (i.e. exporting) a particular brand of socialism while

actually pursuing big power strategic interests..

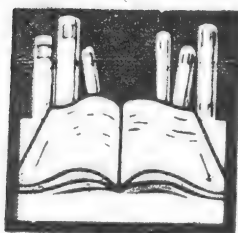
Socialism exerts influence both as a political and economic force if its behaviour is consistently socialistic. The progressive non-aligned movement intends to demand of socialism that its behaviour be consistently socialistic.

During the last 23 years, the non-aligned movement has confronted imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racialism, Zionism, Super-power rivalries and hegemonism in various battle-fields political economic, social, cultural, ideological as well as military and diplomatic fields. At each

stage, the movement challenged such evil forces and gained in strength and solidarity. The more the unity and dedication to the principles of non-alignment the more guarantee for greater success in the future.

To achieve such unity, it is imperative for the members of the non-aligned movement to have the wisdom and initiative to resolve amicably conflicts and disputes among and within members states. The members of the movement should also have the courage to rebuff and even expell any state that violates the principles of the non-aligned movement.

BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS



BLAMING THE VICTIM—AN ASPECT OF ETHIOPIAN IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY

A Critique of Mesfin Wold Mariam's Publication.

Somalia - The Problem Child of africa Hussein M. Adan.

PART I

Mesfin Wolde Mariam, Head of the Department of Geography, Haile Selassie 1 University, Addis Ababa, Published in 1964, his first advocacy of Ethiopian colonialism under the title, *The Background of the Ethio-Somalia Boundary Dispute* (Addis Ababa, 1964). Virtually the same piece appeared under the same title in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 2, 2, (1964), pp. 189-219. In 1977, the same Mesfin published a hysterical plea for Ethiopian colonialism under the title: *Somalia: The Problem Child of Africa* (Addis Ababa, September 1977). This essay offers an extended critique of the latter pamphlet; but first, a word about the earlier piece.

The Mesfin Wolde Mariam of 1964: A Charitable Colonial Mentality:

In his 1964 publication, Mesfin Wolde Mariam purports to go through extended studies of international legal treaties to «prove» the «legitimacy» of Ethiopian colonial domination of Western Somalia — the so-called Ogaden Province.

In 1964 the Ethiopian Empire headed by Haile Selassie, the so-called Lion of Judah and king of kings, seemed eternal, and Mesfin Wolde Ma-

riam could look to his future worries of any kind. The colonialist intellectual could afford to relax, live benevolently and display a mood of charity. He seemed to imply that the colonized Somalis could only be grateful to him for softening what was coming to them. Confident in his colonialist assumptions, Wolde Mariam in 1964 openly declares that Ethiopia has to continue its occupation of Western Somalia for «economic and strategic considerations. The prospect of petroleum in Ogaden obviously is important.» (1).

Following that assertion, Wolde Mariam relaxes and waxes charitable:

«I have attempted to show that Ethiopia and Somalia are more than just neighbours, they are vital to each other and that they complement each other ... I would even venture further and suggest that the two Governments should openly discuss a formula by which they can mutually benefit from the revenue of the prospective petroleum.» (2)

Thus we detect the mental attitude called «paternalistic» in Wolde Mariam's 1964 writings. Paternalism implies stretching colonialism and inequality farther — once admitted. It is, if you like, a charitable colonial mentality

— which is not thereby less skillful nor less dangerous. For the most generous paternalism revolts as soon as the colonized people demand their right for self-determination. Having established an immoral order where he is by definition master and innocent, the colonialist intellectual Wolde Mariam tries, in his 1964 writings, to give himself absolution. It is very essential for such a mentality that this order not be questioned by others and especially not by the colonized.

Recent events marked the beginning of the end for Ethiopian Empire and with it that immoral order which permits a colonialist intellectual to view himself as master and innocent. Unlike in the early sixties, 1977 confronts Mesfin Wolde Mariam with the realization that he could no longer afford to relax, live benevolently and display charity. With violent indignation, he tears off the mask of paternalism, he freezes the hypocritical smile accompanying a charitable colonial mentality.

The Mesfin Wolde Mariam of 1977 groans, howls and displays the bloody claws of a vulture ready to devour its victims. But, in spite of the shrieking tone, the vulture of 1977 is a wounded vulture, a sickly vulture. Wolde Mariam's 1977

pamphlet is full of cheap insults, he spare no effort to find vile epithets which he hurls at Somalia and the Somalis. The tone is no longer pretentiously calm and assured, on the contrary, it is the tone of someone acutely nervous, someone hysterical

Perhaps one need not be too indignant about it.

Because, after all we must resign ourselves to the inevitable and admit that the Ethiopian colonialist is condemned to become every day more snarling, more openly ferocious, more shameless, more summarily barbarous; it is generally true that, before it completely disappears, every exploiting group must first disgrace itself completely, on all fronts.

The Ideology of Blaming the Victim:

Mesfin Wolde Mariam's publication, **Somalia — The Problem Child of Africa** — is a striking example of the ideology of Imperial Ethiopia, the ideology of blaming the victim (3) as a best means of justifying and maintaining colonial oppression. In Marxist writing, the concept of ideology, implies, broadly:

1) a system of beliefs characteristic of the particular class or group;

2) a system of illusory beliefs — false ideas or false consciousness — which can be contrasted with true or scientific knowledge;

3) the general process of the production of meanings and ideas.

In this essay, the term «ideology» is used by effectively

combining senses (1) and (2) above reflecting the way of looking at the world, of the Ethiopian national and class oppressing strata, Wolde Mariam best manifestes the blaming the victim aspect of that ideology. Thus the historically complex national and social problems within the Horn of Africa are analyzed in terms of the deficiencies of the victims of colonialism — in this case «Somalia and the Somalis». Somalia is blamed for all the problems that have festered and are now exploding within the former Ethiopian Empire accordingly, Mesfin Wolde Mariam offers an extraordinarily simple formula for resolving the conflicts: change the victims, in this instance, the Somalis must change their «abnormal psychology». The Somalis are portrayed as «deprived children» who have deficiencies that have not allowed them to «mature». In his world-view, wolde Mariam depicts the victims of colonial oppression and those who militantly assists them in their struggle, as strange, abnormal, different — in other words, as barbarians and savages. Asly form of racism pervades his trenchant pamphlet. He tries to disguise this by adorning it with sings of valid scholarship, figures and statistics, tedious quotations, copious foot notes, pretensions use of scientific terminology (some of this crudely snatched from Marxist Leninist writings).

Mesfin Wolde Mariam screams at the world, asking international opinion to focus on the need to-revamp and revise victims, never on the necessity of decolonizing the Ethiopian Empire in order to lay a firm, just basis for the national reconciliation of the fraternal peoples of the Horn. Mesfin Wold Mariam's publication is

an aspect of colonialist ideological warfare. The tragic fact is that it is mythology that has poisoned certain good minds in Ethiopia and elsewhere, especially within certain African circles, the very people who must reject this ideological distortion if we are to achieve African solutions for Africa's problems.

ON PSYCHOANALYSING THE VICTIMS

Mesfin Wolde Mariam is a specialist in geography. He is neither a psychiatrist nor a psychologist. Nevertheless, in his eagerness to throw mud at the Somalis, he appropriates and misuses psychoanalytical terms and thereby reveals himself to be an academic charlatan. He utilizes psychological generalisations without bothering to offer any empirical evidence for his conclusions; indeed, he is unable to do so and does not even seem to be perturbed by the superficiality of his «psychological» terminology. Listen to Wolde Mariam:

«The distinction between the normal and the abnormal, difficult as it may be is discernible. One psychologist suggests that exaggeration and anti-social conduct, expressed in the legal definition dangerous to himself or others may be the criteria that distinguish the abnormal from the normal.

Somalia is suffering from an advanced form of group phantasy, a complex that is incompatible with reality... this Somali malady... is not properly understood by the world community at large and by Somalia's neighbours... Somalia has not yet learnt interna-

tional norms of conduct... (4).

Earlier on, he asserts that Somalis have the psychology of «tongh-minded criminals».

These and other assertions of Wolde Mariam's pamphlet remind us of Franz Fanon's insightful observation about colonialism seeking to be considered as a «mother who unceasingly restrains her fundamentally perverse offspring from managing to commit suicide and from giving free rein to its evil instincts. The colonial mother protects her child from itself, from its ego, and from its physiology, its biology, and its own unhappiness which is its very essence» (6).

Wolde Mria's pamphlet represents superficial version of M. Mannoni's notorious book **Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization**. Aime Césaire once made the following critical comments with regards to Mannoni's apology for colonialism:

«As for M. Mannoni... Follow him step by step through the ins and outs of his little conjuring tricks, and he will prove to you as clear as day that colonization is based on psychology, that there are in this world groups of men who, for unknown reasons, suffer from what must be called dependency complex, that this is the case with most of the colonized peoples and with the Madagascans in particular.

Away with racism! away with colonialism! They smack too much of barbarism. M. Mannoni has something better: psychoanalysis... the most down-at-heel clichés are resold for you made good and new; the most absurd prejudices are explained and justified; and, as if by magic, the

moon is turned into the green cheese». (7)

Mesfin Wolde Mariam is obviously a pupil, albeit not-so-bright, insert of M. Mannoni, so let us proceed with Aime Césaire's remarks:

«Don't let the subtleties of vocabulary, the new terminology, frighten you! You know the old refrain: «The Negroes are big-children». They take it, they dress it up for you, tangle it up for you, tangle it up for you. The result is mannoni... (Come on you know how it is: These Negroes can't even imagine what freedom is. They don't want it, they don't demand it. It's the white agitators who put that into their heads. And if you gave it to them, they wouldn't know what to do with it)».

Césaire goes on to make a telling point:

«If you point out to M. Mannoni that Madagascans have nevertheless revolted several times since the French occupation and again recently in 1947, M. Mannoni, faithful to his premises, will explain to you that is purely neurotic behavior, a collective madness, a running amok; that moreover, in this case it was not a question of the Madagascans' setting out to conquer real objectives but an «imaginary security», which obviously implies that the oppression of which they complain is an imaginary oppression» (8)

Similarly, Mesfin Wolde Mariam labels Somali struggles for self-determination and unity, «sheer insanity». According to his «psychoanalytical» reasoning, this perverted psychology of Somalis makes «Somalia dangerous to friend

and foe alike». (9) His anti-historical approach allows him to allege that Somalis are not struggling for real socio-political objectives, he portrays them suffering an «imaginary malady». Like Mannoni in the case of the Madagascans, Wolde Mariam sees in the Somalis a dependency complex suited for colonization. Rejecting the Somali claim that they were «brutally divided by colonialists», Wolde Mariam goes on to assert that the Somalis «were so available and willing to give themselves, their country and their territory to a company and when there was no sign of resistances, there was no need for brutality.» (10) At another point he proclaims: «After the Second World War, defeated Italy returned to her former colony of Somaliland, against Ethiopia's strong protest, as a United Nations trusteeship administering power. But the people of the former Italian Somaliland once again accepted Italian authority sheepishly for ten years more.» (11). We see a concrete illustration of the points made by Fanon and Césaire above: Imperial Ethiopia acting as a mother bent on protecting a perverse people whose very nature condemns them to welcome colonial bondage «sheepishly»-

Given such premises, Somalis cannot wish to be free and united. National liberation movement in Africa and elsewhere, in at one point led to the birth of nationalist parties agitating for national independence. Indian history gives the example of the Indian National Congress, led by Gandhi and Nehru; in the former Gold Coast colony (now Ghana), Kwame Nkrumah led the Convention People's Party. Similar parties sprang up elsewhere in colonized Africa...

in Somalia, the Somalia Youth League was formed in 1943 to channel Somali struggles for independence and unification. Let us recall Cesaire's sarcastic remarks: «These Negroes can't even imagine what freedom is . . . It's the white agitators who put it into their heads» (12). Listen to Mesfin Wolde Mariam: «Somalia was impregnated by British imperialism with the idea of Greater Somalia. The British had also organized and trained the leaders of the Somali Youth League which they hoped be the mid-life». (13).

Wolde Mariam goes on to make the horrendous charge that the «White agitator» who put the concept of self-deter-

mination into «his anthropological subjects — the Somalis», is none other than the British social anthropologist I. M. Lewis (14). Wolde Mariam briefly refers to a lecture on «the genuine principle of self-determination» that Professor I. M. Lewis is supposed to have delivered at the University of Glasgow in 1964. What were the circumstances surrounding the lecture? What was the composition of the audience at the lecture? Wolde Mariam is silent on these and several other issues. His reference to I.M. Lewis' lecture on self-determination is simply meant as camouflage, it is intended to tantalize the naive reader in order to facilitate his malicious conclusion:

«The demonstrable truth is that with advisors like Professor Lewis whose knowledge of the United Nations and international law is abysmally and pathetically poor, Somalia is certain to make the region unstable.» (15). The conclusion is arrived at by means of ascription of motives and effects. Like every other point in the pamphlet, nothing is seriously and rationally argued; conclusions are merely inferred from the presentation of juxtaposed quotations and the existence of a distorted textual context.

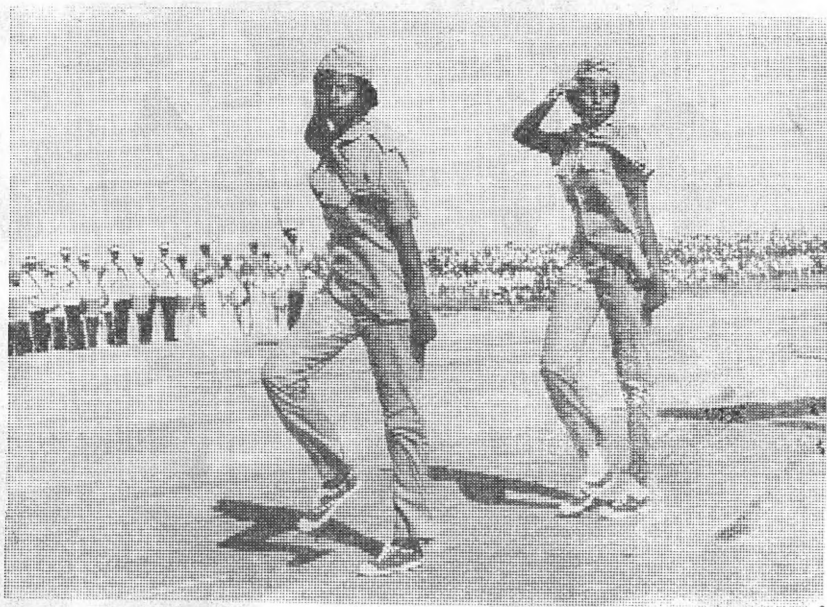
Part II of this critique will continue in the next issue of Halgan.

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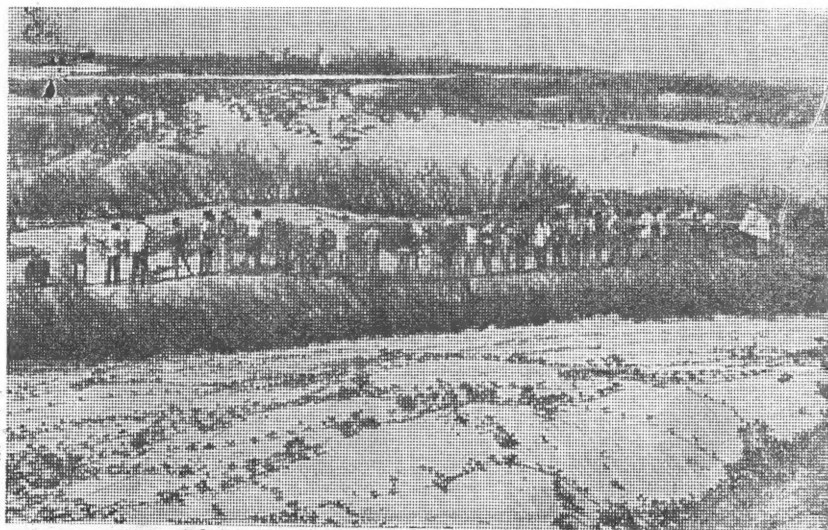
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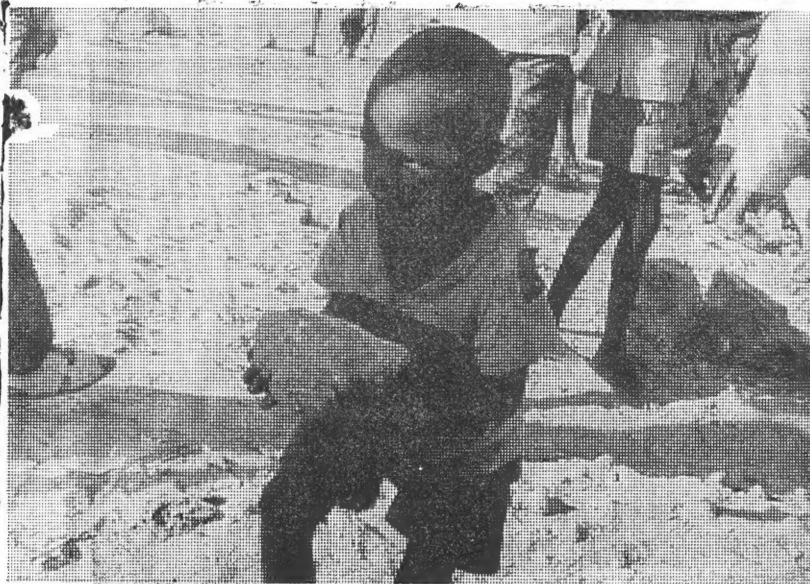


— October Revolution Anniversary Parade.

— Fighting sand dunes expansion that were threatening one of the most fertile areas of Somalia



— Small Boy fully participating in a self-help scheme.

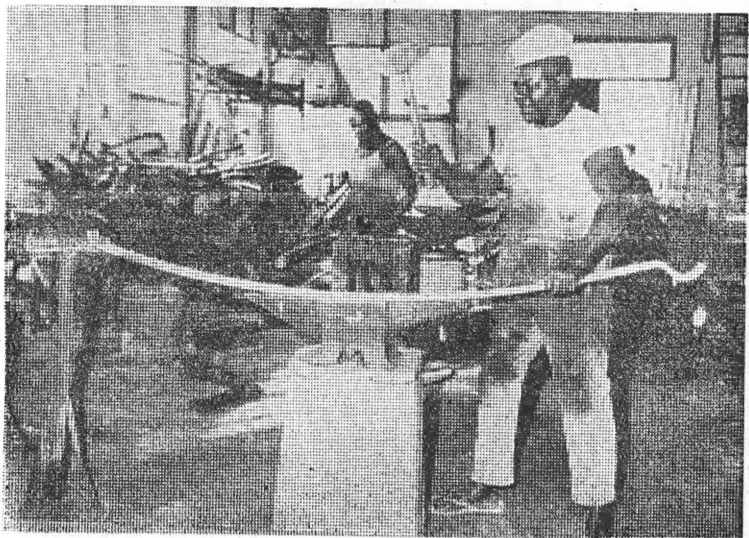


— Girl students in full combat uniform To defend motherland



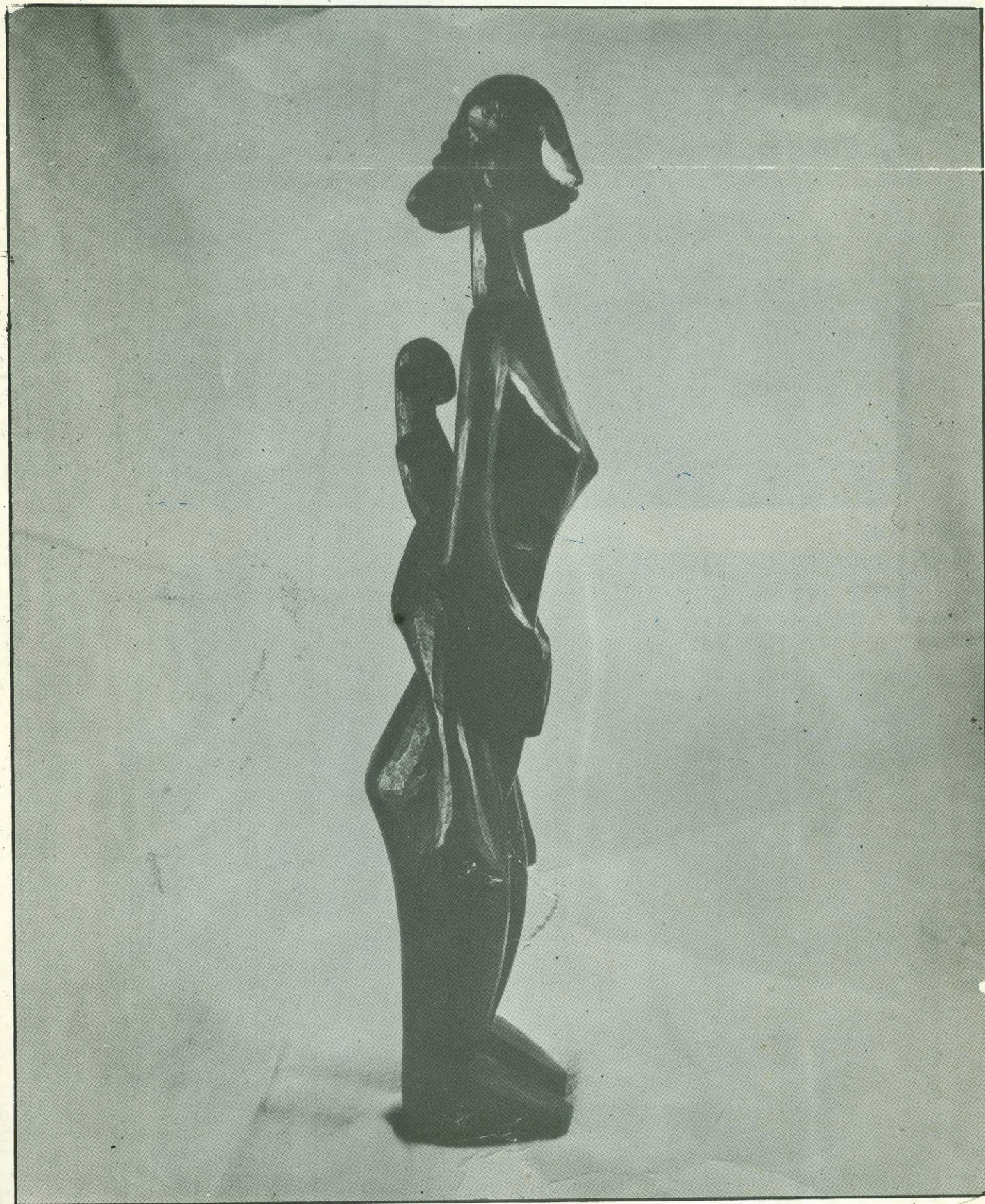
— Drought stricken nomads... resettled in agricultural and coastal areas.

— Serious at work..





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—Somali Wood Carvings.